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School of Diplomacy and International
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Fall 2019

The Persian Gulf in the 21st Century

Maureen Quinn Ambassador

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THE PERSIAN GULF IN THE 21st CENTURY

DIPL 6510/Fall 2019/Mondays 7:35 – 9:45pm/Alfieri Hall ST 122

Office Hours by appointment before class on Mondays

Instructor: Ambassador (ret.) Maureen Quinn

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Course Description and Objectives

This course will provide substantive knowledge of the Gulf region, analyze current trends and challenges, and require critical thinking on choices for regional and non-regional policymakers and their implications for the region's future. The course will begin with a brief discussion of the recent history of the Gulf region. It will then be divided into four sections: (1) politics and governance; (2) economic trends; (3) security, political-military issues and military issues; and (4) case studies and class presentations.

The class will be conducted as a seminar. Attendance and active student participation throughout the course is essential. Students need to complete the assigned readings before class, submit written work on time, and participate actively in class discussions. Students also need to stay abreast of current events in the region and can do so by choosing from among relevant articles in the major newspapers or magazines (New York Times, Washington Post, the Economist, etc.), the analytical articles on the web sites of major think tanks based in the region and globally, and reporting in regional media (Al Arabiya, Al Jazeera, etc., which are available in English online).

Course Structure/Method

The course will involve lectures, discussions, student presentations, written work, as assigned, and in-class group work. A mid-semester policy decision-maker/influencer report and end of semester research report are required. Students will be expected to present both reports in class.

Course Learning Outcomes: By the end of this course, students will be able to

- (1) Describe the internal and external political and economic dynamics that drive security decision-making in the Gulf;
- (2) Outline security challenges facing the region's primary players; and
- (3) Have sufficient knowledge and understanding to research and analyze changing political, economic, and security dynamics in and across the countries in the region.

Policies

Policy on Incompletes

Incompletes will be given only in exceptional cases for emergencies. Students wishing to request a grade of Incomplete must provide documentation to support the request accompanied by a Course Adjustment Form (available from the Diplomacy Main Office) to the professor *before* the date of the final examination. If the incomplete request is

approved, the professor reserves the right to specify the new submission date for all missing coursework. Students who fail to submit the missing course work within this time period will receive a failing grade for all missing coursework and a final grade based on all coursework assigned. Any Incomplete not resolved within one calendar year of receiving the Incomplete or by the time of graduation (whichever comes first) automatically becomes an "FI" (which is equivalent to an F). It is the responsibility of the student to make sure they have completed all course requirements within the timeframe allotted. Please be aware that Incompletes on your transcript will impact financial aid and academic standing.

Disability Services Statement

It is the policy and practice of Seton Hall University to promote inclusive learning environments. If you have a documented disability you may be eligible for reasonable accommodations in compliance with University policy, the Americans with Disabilities Act, Section 504 of the Rehabilitation Act, and/or the New Jersey Law against Discrimination. Please note, students are not permitted to negotiate accommodations directly with professors. To request accommodations or assistance, please self-identify with the Office for Disability Support Services (DSS), Duffy Hall, Room 67 at the beginning of the semester. For more information or to register for services, contact DSS at (973) 313-6003 or by e-mail at DSS@shu.edu.

Academic Integrity & Dishonesty

Plagiarism and other forms of academic dishonesty will be reported to the administration, and may result in a lowered or failing grade for the course and up to possible dismissal from the School of Diplomacy. See University and School standards for academic conduct here: <https://www.shu.edu/student-life/upload/Student-Code-of-Conduct.pdf> and <http://www.shu.edu/academics/diplomacy/academic-conduct.cfm>

Citation Formats

Papers should utilize one of the Chicago Manual of Style citation formats: Author-Date or Notes and Bibliography.

Attendance and Participation

Students are expected to attend every session and to arrive punctually. Students unable to attend a particular session should notify the instructor in advance. Students are expected to participate actively in class throughout the course and respect the contributions of others. Thus, students need to complete required readings before class, participate in class, present in class when assigned, and complete assignments on time.

All assigned work will be graded for written clarity, factual content, and analysis. Each written assignment should be checked for spelling and grammar, and proof read prior to submission. **Grades will be lowered on any materials that are submitted late. Grades will be lowered half a letter grade per day late.**

Student Responsibilities

Class Participation: (20% of course grade) The class will be conducted seminar style, so reading prior to class and submission of weekly written assignments (one page type written answer to a specific question related to weekly readings) on time is required.

Attendance and participation in class discussions are essential.

Mid-term Policymaker/Influencer Paper and Presentation: (20% of the grade)

Students will select a Persian Gulf policymaker/influencer (head of government, foreign minister, leading civil society activist, member of parliament, etc.) from the list on the syllabus (see below), ideally an individual involved in/relevant to the selected research topic. The 4-5 page, double spaced written report and presentation will provide highlights of the selected individual's biography, outline key points from a major speech, interview, or decision made by the individual, explain why the leader/influencer is relevant to the class material, and ideally the student's selected research topic. **Written reports are due on October 21st. Reports will be presented in class the same day. All selections must be approved in advance and by September 23rd.** Selections are first come/first serve.

Research Proposal, Paper and Presentation: (10% for proposal, 30% for paper and presentation) Students are required to do in depth research on a topic of their choice regarding the Persian Gulf region. Research papers will be analytical not just descriptive. Students will prepare a fifteen-page, double-spaced research paper. Students should draw on at least three primary sources, as well as at least 13 secondary sources and papers should be appropriately footnoted. A bibliography is also required with the paper.

Students will submit their **proposal and an annotated bibliography on Oct. 28 for 10% of the grade.** The proposal will outline in a few paragraphs (approximately three-quarters of a page, double spaced) the research topic and list at least ten sources with brief summaries of the perspectives of each of the sources. **Three of the ten sources for the proposal must be primary sources.** All written research papers are due and will be presented in class on November 25th.

Take Home Final Exam: (20% of grade) Questions for the exam will be given out on December 9. Exam questions are to be answered essay style, type written (double spaced), and one to two pages per question. **The take home final exam is due on Dec. 16 by email to maureen.quinn@shu.edu.**

Evaluation Criteria:

- ***Class Participation:*** Active, respectful and collegial engagement in class discussion; evidence of reading and preparation.
- ***In-Class Exercises:*** Contributions of insight to the analysis; raising questions showing insight into the implications of the analysis.

- ***Presentations:*** Clear understanding of the issues at hand; ability to present them in an interesting, lucid and professional manner appropriate to the class audience.
- ***Policy Maker/Influencer Report & Presentation:*** Clear evidence of critical thinking about the individual and his/her perspective, thoughtful answers to the assignment's questions; clear and accurate writing and presentation.
- ***Research Paper:*** Clear evidence of wide and relevant research and critical thinking about the data and sources; a strong thesis or problem to address; effective analysis that leads to a compelling conclusion; clear, accurate and persuasive writing and presentation.
- ***Exam:*** Mastery of the facts and scholarship involved; accurate, clearly written answers; drawing insightful conclusions based on analysis.

Course Materials

Selected articles and book chapters, especially for the Sept. 9 class are available via online links, the class Blackboard website, and/or on reserve at the Walsh Library.

The Many Faces of Political Islam: Religion and Politics in the Muslim World by Mohammed Ayoob (selected chapters)

The Political Economy of the Persian Gulf -- edited by Mehran Kamrava (selected chapters)

The Modern History of Iraq, P. Marr, and Al-Marashi I., Fourth Edition, 2017 (selected chapters)

The Security Dynamics of the Persian Gulf, edited by Kristian Coates Ulrichsen, (selected chapters)

The United Arab Emirates: Power, Politics, and Policymaking by Kristian Coates Ulrichsen,

Course Topics, Readings, and Assignments

August 26 – Course Introduction

Discussion of Course Objectives, Strategy, Content, and Requirements

September 2 – Labor Day no class

September 9 – History, Society, & State Formation

Required Readings

Chapter 3 “Representative Government in Kuwait,” provided electronically from The Making of the Modern Gulf States, 24 pages

Chapter 9 “Saudi Arabia, The Powerful Neighbor,” provided electronically from The Making of the Modern Gulf States, 20 pages

State Formation in the Gulf, by J.E. Petersen, “The Case of Abu Dhabi and Sheikh Zayid bin Khalifah” – 8 pages

State Formation in the Gulf by J.E. Petersen, "The Case of Qatar and Shaykh Jassim b. Muhammad – 17 pages

Chapter 1: "The Land and People of Modern Iraq," in The Modern History of Iraq by Phoebe Marr, pages 1-16

Selected Section from Chapter 6 in Modern Iran by Nikki R. Keddie, pages 113-122 available electronically on class website or handout

First Written Assignment Due

Section 1: Politics and Governance

September 16 – Religion and Politics in the Persian Gulf

Islam, Islamism, Secularism, Pluralism

Required Readings

Many Faces of Political Islam, by Mohammed Ayoob, pages 1- 74 (political Islam in Iran and Saudi Arabia, and an introduction to Islamist political ideology)

Second Written Assignment Due

September 23 – Politics and Governance Class 2 – Government Institutions

Required Readings

Chapter 2: "State formation" in The United Arab Emirates, pages 17-39

Chapters 8 and 9 "The Saddam Husain Regime (1979-1989)" and "The Saddam Husain Regime 1990-2003" in The Modern History of Iraq pages 139-202

Selected Chapters from The Iran Primer at www.usip.org (The Supreme Leader, The Parliament, The Assembly of Experts, The Judiciary, The Revolutionary Guards) PDFs of these chapters are available on the class website.

Third Written Assignment Due/Mid Semester Paper Selections made

September 30 – Politics and Governance – Class 3 – State Society Relations

UAE and Kuwait - Case Studies in State Society Relations

Required Readings

Chapter 3: "Politics" in The United Arab Emirates, pages 44 -80

Chapter 10 "Youth, Protest, and the New Elite: Domestic Security and Dignity in Kuwait," in The Changing Security Dynamics of the Persian Gulf pages 165-190

Chapter 2: "Links between Domestic and Regional Security" in the The Changing Security Dynamics of the Persian Gulf pages 23 to 41

Fourth Written Assignment Due

Section 2 - Economic Trends

October 7 – Economic Trends Class 1

Oil and Natural Gas: A Resource Curse?

Required Readings

Chapter 4 "The Emerging Energy Landscape" in the Changing Security Dynamics of the Persian Gulf pages 61-75

Chapter 8 "Energy and the Islamic Republic" in Iran's Political Economy Since the Revolution by Suzanne Maloney pages 368-427 (on reserve**/electronically, if possible)

Chapter 10 "Good, Bad, or Both? The Impact of Oil on the Saudi Political Economy"

Steffen Hertog in The Political Economy of the Persian Gulf pages 221-249

Fifth Written Assignment Due

October 14 – Mid Semester Break – no class

October 21 – Mid Semester Policymaker/Influencer Paper and Presentation

Assignment: Written Report due. Presentations to be made in class.

October 28 - Economic Trends Class 2

The Rentier, the Revolutionary, & the War and Post War Economies of the Gulf

Required Readings

Chapter 3 "The Political Economy of Rentierism in the Persian Gulf," in The Political Economy of the Persian Gulf pages 39-68

Chapter 11: "The Political Economy of Rentierism in Iran," in The Political Economy of the Persian Gulf pages 251-277

Selections from "Iraq After ISIS" by Anthony Cordesman (PDF on class website)
"Introduction" pages 1-5, and "From Governance to Economics" and "Economic Challenges" pages 78-117

Assignment: Proposal and Annotated Bibliography Due

November 4 – Economic Trends Class 3 – Economic Diversification

Required Readings:

Chapter 4: "Economics," in The United Arab Emirates ages 86-129

Chapters 4: "The Sovereign Wealth Funds", in The Political Economy of the Persian Gulf pages 69-93

Chapter 5: "Knowledge Based Economies in the GCC," in The Political Economy of the Persian Gulf pages 95-122

Sixth Written Assignment Due

Section 3 - Security Trends

November 11 – Security Trends Class 1: The Persian Gulf – A Security Region

Required Readings

Chapter 1 "The Persian Gulf as security region," in The International Relations of the Persian Gulf by F. Gregory Gause, III, pages 1-15 (available electronically)

Ideologies, Alliances, and Underbalancing in the New Middle East Cold War by Gregory Gause on the Project on Middle East Political Science Web site link below

<http://pomeps.org/2015/08/26/ideologies-alliances-and-underbalancing-in-the-new-middle-east-cold-war/>

Chapter 8 "A Regional Great Game" in The Changing Security Dynamics of the Persian Gulf pages 127-142

Chapter 5 "International Relations," in The United Arab Emirates, pages 137-176

Seventh Written Assignment Due

November 18 – Security Trends Class 2(Iran Focus) Class 2 Nuclear Issues

Required Readings

Chapter 9: "Iranian Foreign and Security Policies in the Persian Gulf" in the International Politics of the Persian Gulf International Politics of the Persian Gulf - Page 184 – 206 (handout or to be made available electronically)

Selected Chapters "Nuclear Program," Nuclear Politics," Ballistic Missiles," "IAEA," from The Iran Primer at usip.org (PDFs available on class website)

The Joint Comprehensive Plan of Action and Annexes, listed on the Department of State website at the link

<http://www.state.gov/e/eb/tfs/spi/iran/jcpoa/>

JCPOA pdf at <http://www.state.gov/documents/organization/245317.pdf> also available on The Iran Primer website at usip.org

How to Prevent an Iranian Bomb by Michael Mandelbaum in Foreign Affairs, November /December 2015 Issue, Pages 19-24

The New Containment: Handling Russia, China, and Iran by Michael Mandelbaum in Foreign Affairs March/April 2019 Issue at

<https://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/china/2019-02-12/new-containment>

Eight Written Assignment Due

November 25 - Security Trends Class 3 –Iraq focus, Extremism, Terrorism, Counter-Terrorism

Required Readings

Chapters 12-13 and Epilogue: "Iraq and the Challenge of the Islamic State, 2014-2016," "Economic, Social, and Cultural Change in Post 2003 Iraq," and "Epilogue: The Future of Iraq" pages 287-343

Chapter 7 "The Rise of ISIS: Iraq and Persian Gulf Security" by Nussaibah Younis in The Changing Security Dynamics of the Persian Gulf pages 113-126

Chapter 6: "Security," in from The United Arab Emirates, pages 184-220

Ninth Written Assignment Due

Section 4 – Research Presentations and Case Study of Yemen

December 2 – Research Presentations

Written Research Papers are due at the beginning of class. Research Presentations will be made in class followed by discussion. Begin Case Study on Yemen, as time permits.

December 9 - Case Study on Yemen and Course Wrap-up

Required Readings

Politics, Governance, and Reconstruction in Yemen, January 2018, pages 1 – 61, (pdf on the class website, available online) (POMEPS 29 – The Project on Middle East Politics 29)

United Nations Security Council Resolution UNSCR 2216, April 2015, pages 1-7, [https://undocs.org/S/RES/2216\(2015\)](https://undocs.org/S/RES/2216(2015)),

No Written Assignment

Final Exam Questions to be handed out at the end of class

December 16

Take Home Final exam is due. Please submit your take home final exam by email

Suggested Policymakers/Influencers

Iran

Interview with History – Oriana Fallaci, Chapter 11 on Mohammed Riza Pahlavi (Book on reserve in the Walsh library)

Islam and Revolution: Writings and Declarations of Imam Khomeini (1941-1980)

Translated and Annotated by Hamid Algar - select a chapter (on reserve)

A speech of former President Ahmedinejad at the United Nations (online)

Supreme Leader Khamenei – use Who is Khamenei The Mind of Iran's Supreme Leader by Akbar Ghani, in Foreign Affairs September/October 2013

Foreign Minister Zariff– pick a speech at the UN or other major conference

Shirin Ebadi – Nobel Peace Prize Winner, speeches available online

President Rouhani at the United Nations General Assembly

<https://gadebate.un.org/en/73/iran-islamic-republic>

Iraq

Saddam Hussein speeches from the Wilson Center Digital Archive,

Iraqi President Salih (online)

Prime Minister Adil Abdul Mahdi – online

Former Prime Minister Al Maliki – speeches online at the UN or a think tank

Former Prime Minister Al Abadi such as <http://gadebate.un.org/70/Iraq>

Vian Dakhil, Member of Parliament – minority representative (see presentation online at <https://www.ipinst.org/2015/04/non-state-actor-activity-challenges-un-response-to-sexual-violence-in-conflict#4>)

Nadia Murad, Nobel Prize winner, speech online

Saudi Arabia

King Salman bin Abdul Azziz at major conference in Saudi Arabia

Crown Prince Mohamed bin Salman speech or interview available online

Minister of State for Foreign Affairs Adel Al Jubeir (available online/ideally at United Nations)

Saudi Ambassador to the US Princess Reema bint Bandar online

Other Arabian Gulf Leaders or Influencers

Qatar's Emir Sheikh Tamim bin Hamad al Thani at the United Nations

UAE's Minister of State for Foreign Affairs Gargash (speech and/or interview easily found online at major Think Tanks such as Chatham House in the UK or at the UN or recognized international conference)

Any one of the Gulf Leaders speaking at the UN General Assembly or the Munich Security Conference

Minister of Foreign Affairs of Bahrain Khalid Al Khalifa or the Bahrain's Crown Prince

Salman bin Hamad Al Khalifa speaking at the annual Manama Dialogue Forum (occurs annually, usually in December in Bahrain)

Background Reading and References

Modern Iran: Roots and Results by Nikki R. Keddie

Iran's Political Economy Since the Revolution by Suzanne Maloney

Saudi Arabia in Transition by Bernard Haykel, Thomas Hegghammer, and Stefane Lacroix

The International Relations of the Persian Gulf by Gregory Gause

A History of the Arab Peoples by Albert Hourani,

Islam A Short History by Karen Armstrong

The Making of the Modern Gulf States by Rosemarie S. Zahlan

The J Curve A New Way to Understand Why Nations Rise and Fall by Ian Bremmer

Thicker than Oil America's Uneasy Partnership with Saudi Arabia by Rachel Bronson

Oil and Politics in the Gulf: Rulers and Merchants in Kuwait and Qatar by Jill Crystal

Political Order in Changing Societies by Samuel Huntington

Forces of Fortune by Vali Nasr

The Gulf Military Balance Series (CSIS): The Conventional and Asymmetric Dimensions by Anthony Cordesman with Bryan Cold Garrett Bernstein

Human Capital and the Gulf by Carolyn Barnett CSIS

at <http://csis.org/publication/human-capital-and-future-gulf>

History of Political Economy in the Persian Gulf at

<https://bakerinstitute.org/media/files/files/a9688a6e/CME-pub-PoliticalEconomy-050815.pdf> (26 pages)

Rulers, Merchants, and Sheikhs/The Functions of Family Networks by J.E. Petersen Chapter 1 (20 pages) available online

The Iran Primer: Power, Politics, and U.S. Policy edited by Robin Wright available online at usip.org

Future of Iraq conference proceedings at

<https://law.wm.edu/news/stories/2015/experts-explore-and-debate-the-future-of-iraq-at-october-conference.php>

The syllabus will be updated, as needed, after the mid-semester course evaluation.